

# STUDY AND STRUGGLE CHECK LIST

- ☐ Write to the National Coordinating Committee for THE YEAR TO PULL THE COVERS OFF IMPERIALISM to place your name on the mailing list and facilitate the exchange of information, course outlines, and general concerns.
- ☐ Develop a course or organize a study group based on the outlined model.  
(See September, 1974 *Black Scholar*)
- ☐ Begin to investigate and summarize the impact of imperialism and monopoly capitalism on Black people in your local area.
- ☐ Link your study and investigation to the concrete day to day struggle by joining the organizations involved in concrete struggles against racism, imperialism, and monopoly capitalism.
- ☐ Attend THE YEAR TO PULL THE COVERS OFF IMPERIALISM regional conference in your area and organize a local seminar, and/or a study group.
- ☐ Endorse the DECLARATION AGAINST IMPERIALISM

WRITE:

NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

YEAR TO PULL THE COVERS OFF

IMPERIALISM PROJECT

POST OFFICE BOX 5747

NASHVILLE, TN 37208

U.S.A.

# 1975

The year to pull the covers off

# IMPERIALISM

The National Conference to kick-off the **YEAR TO PULL THE COVERS OFF IMPERIALISM** will be held at Fisk University, Nashville, Tn., from January 9-12, 1975. The conference will involve key resource people from across the country in workshop presentations on four topics of study. Keynote addresses by well-known scholars and activists will be delivered on various aspects of the theoretical and practical anti-imperialist struggles and the Black liberation movement.

### **1. US IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA**

Africa has been placed very high on the agenda of US imperialism as major world powers struggle to increase their domination of the resources and peoples of the world. What has been the history of Africa with regards to US imperialism? What are the concrete interests of the US ruling class in Africa today in terms of raw materials, labor, investments, markets, etc. How are these concrete interests served by various institutions? What is the exact role of South Africa in the strategy of US imperialism in Africa?

### **2. NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES:**

The most serious blows against imperialism are being leveled by the liberation forces in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This worldwide pattern has been a major factor contributing to the overall development of the Black liberation struggle. What is a national liberation struggle? Are there different kinds? What are the historical stages of development? What is the role of different classes? What lessons can be applied to the Black liberation struggle?

### **3. IMPERIALISM AND BLACK PEOPLE**

It is the responsibility of Black intellectuals to fully investigate the nature of imperialism so that the obvious as well as the concealed impact of imperialism on Black people will be totally understood. What is the current stage of imperialism? What are the strategies for imperialist domination? What are the differences in how various classes are connected to imperialism? What are the most effective programs of change in the Black community against imperialism?

### **4. SOCIALISM**

At a time when capitalist countries of the Western world are faced with severe crisis - runaway inflation, rising unemployment, food and fuel shortages, and a range of socio-political ills, the task of Black intellectuals is to fully investigate and illuminate the alternative of socialism. What is the impact of monopoly capitalism on the various aspects of life in the USA? What are the theoretical and practical differences between capitalism and socialism? What lessons can be learned from the socialist experience of the Third World? What would a socialist United States look like?

### **FURTHER THE ANALYSIS THROUGH STUDY AND STRUGGLE**

**REGIONAL CONFERENCES** - THE FOLLOWING AREAS ARE THE SITES FOR REGIONAL CONFERENCES TO BE HELD BETWEEN FEBRUARY AND JUNE, 1975: EAST - WASHINGTON, D.C., MIDWEST - DETROIT, NORTHEAST - BOSTON, SOUTH - ATLANTA, WEST - BAY AREA. EXACT DATES AND LOCATIONS WILL BE ANNOUNCED AS SOON AS DETAILS HAVE BEEN FINALIZED BY REGIONAL SPONSORING COMMITTEES. SMALLER SEMINARS WILL ALSO BE ORGANIZED THROUGHOUT THE REGIONS.

**NEWSLETTER** - A "PULL THE COVERS OFF IMPERIALISM NEWSLETTER" SUMMARIZING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AROUND THE THEME OF IMPERIALISM AND BLACK LIBERATION WILL BE PUBLISHED AND WIDELY CIRCULATED.

# A declaration against imperialism.

Today the world is plunging head long into crisis. The prosperity and world domination of the USA has been ended and exposed as the center of an exploiting imperialist system. This exploitation has shaped the historical experience of Black people since European colonization and chattel slavery, and pinpoints the target of the Black liberation movement over the last century of struggle. Once again it is time for Black intellectuals to speak out — to raise our voices in a rising chorus that lays bare the true character of US imperialism and unites our work with the movement for Black liberation.

Imperialism is a dying system that is based on intense economic exploitation, social oppression, political repression, and cultural domination. The development of the world imperialist system has led the entire world into a general crisis affecting all aspects of society, leaving no nation, country, or people free of its destructive impact. However, where there is exploitation and oppression there is resistance and struggle. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution. This is the trend of world history, and Black people in the USA are no exception.

As the USA moves toward the Bicentennial celebration of its existence it is the historical responsibility of Black intellectuals to prevent distortions, lies and deception by exposing US imperialism. Over 100 years ago (on July 4, 1852 in Rochester, New York) Frederick Douglass set the pace when he clearly exposed "the great sin and shame of America":

"WHAT TO THE AMERICAN SLAVE IS YOUR FOURTH OF JULY? I ANSWER, A DAY THAT REVEALS TO HIM MORE THAN ALL OTHER DAYS OF THE YEAR, THE GROSS INJUSTICE AND CRUELTY TO WHICH HE IS THE CONSTANT VICTIM. TO HIM YOUR CELEBRATION IS A SHAM; YOUR BOASTED LIBERTY AN UNHOLY LICENSE; YOUR NATIONAL GREATNESS, SWELLING VANITY; YOUR SOUNDS OF REJOICING ARE EMPTY AND HEARTLESS; YOUR DENUNCIATION OF TYRANTS, BRASS-FRONTED IMPUDENCE; YOUR SHOUTS OF LIBERTY AND EQUALITY, HOLLOW MOCKERY; YOUR PRAYERS AND HYMNS, YOUR SERMONS AND THANKSGIVINGS, WITH ALL YOUR RELIGIOUS PARADE AND SOLEMNITY, ARE TO HIM MERE BOMBAST, FRAUD, DECEPTION, IMPIETY, AND HYPOCRISY — A THIN VEIL TO COVER UP CRIMES WHICH WOULD DISGRACE A NATION OF SAVAGES. THERE IS NOT A NATION OF THE EARTH GUILTY OF PRACTICES MORE SHOCKING AND BLOODY THAN ARE THE PEOPLE OF THESE UNITED STATES AT THIS VERY HOUR."

The exposure of the "revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy" of US imperialism must be adopted today as the main objective of the historical task of Black intellectuals.

The economic crisis of the world capitalist system is intensifying, and adds up to an all-sided attack on the living standards of the people in the USA, especially the working class and the oppressed nationalities. The attack is led by run-away inflation and unemployment, while corporate profits reach all time highs. Moreover, the ruling class representatives meet in high level conferences to smooth over this crisis situation by proposing piecemeal reforms, in the manner of Herbert Hoover prior to the Great Depression in 1929. Our task is to expose the essence of this crisis by demonstrating who benefits from imperialism and who is exploited by imperialism — how and why, and how all the reforms now under discussion have historically failed to be more than short term measures that deal with symptoms of the economic crisis and not its fundamental cause.

One of the main manifestations of the world character of imperialism is the striving of the US ruling class for hegemony in every region of the world. The US government and corporations, aided by the foundations, universities and mass media, have extended to all corners of the globe so that the sun never sets on US imperialism. But just as when that description was applied to the British empire and was ended by the forces of national liberation after WWII, so the forces of liberation and revolution are bringing down US imperialism as demonstrated by the the victorious war won by the heroic Vietnamese people and the defeat of US backed Portuguese Colonialism in Africa. The role of Black intellectuals, literally located within the belly of US monopoly capitalism, is to turn the

the essence of this crisis by demonstrating who benefits from imperialism and who is exploited by imperialism — how and why, and how all the reforms now under discussion have historically failed to be more than short term measures that deal with symptoms of the economic crisis and not its fundamental cause.

One of the main manifestations of the world character of imperialism is the striving of the US ruling class for hegemony in every region of the world. The US government and corporations, aided by the foundations, universities and mass media, have extended to all corners of the globe so that the sun never sets on US imperialism. But just as when that description was applied to the British empire and was ended by the forces of national liberation after WWII, so the forces of liberation and revolution are bringing down US imperialism as demonstrated by the the victorious war won by the heroic Vietnamese people and the defeat of US backed Portuguese Colonialism in Africa. The role of Black intellectuals, literally located within the belly of US monopoly capitalism, is to turn the character of US imperialism inside out, pulling off the covers that conceal it, and attacking it on its ideological front.

As the Black liberation movement spreads and reflects the revolutionary aspirations of the masses of Black people, there also develops a great need for politically relevant Black intellectuals. This is a crucial mandate for all students, teachers, journalists, professionals, artists, and writers. But a Black intellectual cannot be defined simply by an occupational role or by formal education. *A Black intellectual is a person who has developed adequate theoretical skill and has access to sufficient practical experience to be able to sum up the concrete conditions of a problem by discovering the logical pattern and main aspects of the problem; to integrate this summation with established theoretical principles, and creatively apply the lessons learned to solve the problems that Black people face and which exist for the entire society.* The storehouse of these established theoretical principles — the history of revolutionary scientific theoretical work, including Black intellectuals like W.E.B. DuBois, Langston Hughes, and Paul Robeson must be inventoried and systematically summed up as a point of departure as we undertake our task in this period.

Moreover, our theory must not only be rooted in a scientific approach to understanding the complex nature of US society and the historical development of US imperialism, but also in a commitment to use theory as a weapon in the ideological struggle against imperialism. This includes refuting the theories of racial inferiority being put forward by professors in major US universities, intellectual justifications for anti-people programs constituting "benign neglect", educational programs that shift from academic education to vocational training in order to slow down the intellectual advancements of the masses of people, and piecemeal reformist community development schemes.

Therefore, *Black intellectuals* must gather ourselves together and forge unity around our common historical condition, and the intellectual, moral, and political imperatives for our work:

**WE DECLARE** that the main task of Black intellectuals is to study the character and historical development of US imperialism, especially its impact on Black people, and to promote this study throughout schools, publications, conferences, and organizations;

**WE DECLARE** that the main objective of our study must be to expose the essence of imperialism and provide the intellectual tools necessary for combatting every imperialist assault on the people;

**WE DECLARE** that our goal is to establish a new relationship between Black intellectuals and the Black liberation movement in which intellectuals function to serve the interests of the people with humility based on compassion, strength based on science, and a revolutionary optimism that the people will triumph over all enemies and prosper.

***Further the analysis  
through study and struggle.***